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Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 /010 W
----------070805 240745Z /14-R
P 240704Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8902

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FOR HOLBROOKE FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 652: NA
TAGS: PSDC
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S ASIA SOCIETY SPEECH

REF: STATE 144682

1. MUCH APPRECIATE OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT ON DRAFT.

2. IF THERE IS ONE COMMON THEME THAT I SENSE JAPANESE AND OTHER ASIANS ARE LOOKING FOR AS THE ASIAN POLICY OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS SET FORTH, IT IS RELIABILITY AND PREDICTABILITY IN OUR APPROACH TO THE AREA. THIS HAS BEEN MOST MARKEDLY APPARENT IN THE ASIAN REACTION TO KOREAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS. THE JAPANESE HAVE COME TO ACCEPT THE DECISION, AND I BELIEVE THEY AND OTHER ASIANS CAN BE BROUGHT AROUND TO REGARD IT AS A WISE DECISION. UP TO NOW THERE ARE GNAWING CONCERNS, HOWEVER, THAT OTHER WITHDRAWAL ACTIONS IN ASIA ARE CURRENTLY CONTEMPLATED.

3. THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH SHOULD GO FAR TO CONVINCE ASIANS THAT THEIR MISGIVINGS ABOUT U.S. STAYING POWER ARE GROUNDLESS. I WOULD RECOMMEND, HOWEVER, DRIVING THE THEME HOME A BIT MORE EXPLICITLY. PERHAPS THIS
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MIGHT BEST BE DONE IN THE SUMMATION, WHERE I WOULD SUGGEST REWORDING PARA 89 ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

"THIS ADMINISTRATION REDEDICATES ITSELF AS A MEMBER OF THIS COMMUNITY TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THESE GOALS. THE POLICIES I HAVE SET FORTH TODAY REPRESENT NO CONSCIOUS EFFORT TO BREAK WITH THE PAST MERELY FOR THE SAKE OF CHANGE. THERE IS MUCH

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CONTINUITY IN OUR ASIAN POLICY, REPRESENTING AS IT
DOES THE CONTINUITY OF AMERICAN NATIONAL INTERESTS.
OUR ASIAN POLICY, HOWEVER, REPRESENTS A FRESH
ASSESSMENT, A RECOGNITION OF THE DRAMATIC CHANGES
WHICH HAVE IN FACT OCCURRED IN RECENT YEARS, AND
A DETERMINATION THAT WE MUST TAKE CHANGE INTO ACCOUNT
AND USE IT TO CONSTRUCTIVE ADVANTAGE. IN THIS
EFFORT I PLEDGE THE BEST EFFORTS OF THE ADMINISTRA-
TION: FOR THIS I ASK THE SUPPORT OF OUR FRIENDS
IN ASIA AND OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE."

4. A FEW OTHER MINOR COMMENTS FOLLOW:
PARA 7 -- POSSIBLE ADDITION: "JAPAN HAD JUST EMERGED
FROM A TURBULENT DEBATE ABOUT THE REVISION OF THE
UNITED STATES-JAPANESE SECURITY TREATY, WHICH HAD LEFT
MUCH BITTER FEELING IN ITS WAKE."

PARA 12 -- TO GIVE REFERENCE TO JAPAN A MORE POSITIVE
CAST: "JAPAN, DYNAMIC AND PEACEFUL, HAS PROGRESSED
TO BECOME THE WORLD'S SECOND LARGEST INDUSTRIALIZED
DEMOCRACY. NO LONGER ISOLATED BY THE INHERITED
RESENTMENTS OF THE PACIFIC WAR, IT HAS ASSUMED AN
IMPORTANT ROLE IN WORLD TRADE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT."

PARA 18 -- I SUGGEST DELETING THE TERM "ASIAN POWER,"
WHICH MAY BE PERCEIVED AS A WILLINGNESS TO REINVOLVE
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THE UNITED STATES IN WAR ON THE ASIAN LAND MASS, AND
SUBSTITUTE LANGUAGE TO REASSURE OUR EAST ASIAN ALLIES.
THUS I SUGGEST SUBSTITUTING FOR THE FIRST SUBPARAGRAPH:
"FIRST, THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO REMAIN A PACIFIC
POWER, AND TO MAINTAIN ITS COMMITMENTS AND INTERESTS
THROUGHOUT ASIA."

PARA 19 -- SUGGEST ADDING THE FOLLOWING: "OUR NATION
PAID VERY DEARLY IN LIVES AND NATIONAL WEALTH IN TWO
MAJOR WARS IN ASIA DURING THE PAST QUARTER CENTURY.
THERE IS NO WAY THAT AMERICA'S INTEREST IN PRESERVING
PEACE AND ADVANCING STABILITY IN THE REGION CAN EVER
BE VIEWED AS ANYTHING BUT UNCONDITIONAL AND UNCHANGING.
THIS ASPECT OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE NATIONS OF THE
AREA IS NO TRANSIENT PHASE, DEPENDENT ON PERSONALITIES,
DOMESTIC POLITICAL COMMITMENTS OR MUTABLE INTERPRETATIONS."

PARA 23 -- I SUGGEST CHANGING "SECURITY" TO "STABILITY"
OR REWORDING THE PARAGRAPH TO READ: "EVEN THOUGH A
CERTAIN STABILITY HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IT IS NOT WITHOUT
ITS UNCERTAINTIES." (IF THIS LANGUAGE IS USED, PARA 27
COULD BE DELETED.)

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PARA 38 -- TO UNDERSCORE OUR INTEREST IN WORKING CLOSELY
WITH JAPAN IN ENCOURAGING ECONOMIC GROWTH AND STABILITY
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, SUGGEST INSERTING AS A FIRST SENTENCE
"WE ARE BOTH PLEDGED TO CONTINUE COOPERATION AND
ASSISTANCE IN SUPPORT OF THE EFFORTS OF THE ASEAN
COUNTRIES TOWARD REGIONAL COHESION AND DEVELOPMENT."

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ACTION EA-09

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
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PARA 40 -- WE ARE NOT SURE WHAT MESSAGE THIS IS INTENDED
TO CONVEY TO JAPAN AND, CONSIDERING THE PRESSURES AT
WORK IN BOTH COUNTRIES, WE MAY BE PLEDGING MORE THAN
WE CAN DELIVER. SUGGEST CLARIFICATION OR ELIMINATION.

PARA 59 -- SUGGEST AMENDING FIRST SENTENCE TO READ:
"AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, IN ADDITION TO JAPAN,
HAVE ALREADY..."

PARA 80 -- SUGGEST ADDING THE FOLLOWING: "FAILURE
OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER ADVANCED NATIONS TO
CONTRIBUTE POSITIVELY TO IMPROVEMENT OF THESE ASPECTS
OF THE HUMAN CONDITION IN THE REGION WOULD RAISE THE
DANGER OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHAOS THAT COULD
DIRECTLY THREATEN THE SECURITY OF ALL OF US. SO
AGAIN, OUR CONCERN AND OUR COMMITMENT ARISES NOT ONLY
FROM ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS, BUT QUITE CLEARLY FROM
OUR KEEN AWARENESS OF THE DIRECT INVOLVEMENT OF
AMERICA'S VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THESE MATTERS."

PARA 88 -- TO AVOID ANY IMPLICATION THAT WE HAVE
IN MIND CREATING A MORE STRUCTURED FRAMEWORK THAN IS
INTENDED, SUGGEST CHANGING "A NEW COMMUNITY IN
ASIA AND THE PACIFIC" TO EITHER "A NEW SENSE OF

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COMMUNITY IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC" OR "THE COMMUNITY
OF ASIAN AND PACIFIC NATIONS."
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Message Attributes

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